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SPEECH

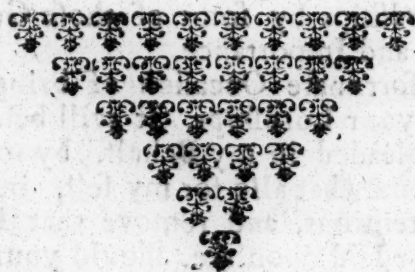
OF

Henry Sacheverell, D. D.

Made in

WESTMINSTER-HALL,

On Tuesday, March 7, 17⁰⁹₁₀.



L O N D O N :

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Dr. *Henry Sacheverell's*
S P E E C H.

My LORDS,

THE Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a Length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble, by saying any thing for my self, did I not think, that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self, are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the Thing principally aim'd at. I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party, not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the Means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd, in a Parliamentary-way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not; and therefore, as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the Highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my Behalf, by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then, I shall lay before you some few general Remarks, which, in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge; and shall then, with your Lordships Leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My

My Lords, the Charge brought against me, in these Articles, is of a very high and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd and read to your Lordships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by laying entire Sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by Piecing broken Sentences, and Conjoining distant and Independent Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of.

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd, by the several Articles to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been referr'd to and read, with the same Ease as my Council referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, in the same Extent, as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to your Lordships; no Arguments, no Colours were Used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages. Whereas, to prove me Guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after my Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to persuade your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, When my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural, Construction has been always made of them; Nay, when my Words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct Contrary to what I have said; and when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accused, not only for what I am suppos'd to have said; but for what I am allow'd not to have said: Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were Criminal. A 2 These

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made Use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which, if proved, might affect my Liberty and Fortune. No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel discharging the Duty of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion, with an honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes, perhaps, carrying him into Expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper for one in my Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with Degrees of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature, might have screen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with your Lordships Leave, shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against Me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, that the necessary Means us'd to bring about the late Happy Revolution, were Odious and Unjustifiable: In Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in General Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage, by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution; the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thoughts of including the Revolution, under my General Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms, in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships, as a Criminal, or as an Asperfer of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine in the same Terms, before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation.

But, since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do, with all Humble Confidence,

dence, rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting, but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have, in this Case, asserted to be warranted by Law; and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel: The Doctrine I preach'd, being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them.

And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and Wholsome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution, by the late Act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships, to consider how far the Condemnation of me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the *British* Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where, in my Sermon, shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg Leave, once more, to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be understood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath prescribed.

My Lords, This then was, and still is my sincere Opinion; nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it: I have, indeed, blam'd, and, perhaps, with some Warmth and Earnestness blam'd, the Abuses which Men of no Conscience have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine, would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were level'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of that Act, which permits Protestant-Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every Man in his own Way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act, by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church; whereas that Act was intended for the Ease of those, whose Minds, thro' the unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already estrang'd from the Church, not, as I humbly

bly conceive, to indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration, a Word unknown to our Laws, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd, if I have said any Thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be judg'd by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any Want of Christian Moderation. Nor is, there, my Lords, any Want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the Nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion, which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular Laws, and can by no humane Power be dispens'd with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as she certainly doth not, then all Separatists from her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of Schism, the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates; for as no humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not, in themselves, carry such a Meaning; nor does the Connection of my Discourse require that Sense, or easily admit it. Schismaticks, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darkness which I referr'd to, as fit to be reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same Kind with those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, all lewd and immoral Practices; against these, my Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies, (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before your Lordships) I thought the Anathemas of the Church would be well employ'd: Such Anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore, by any Power on Earth, be irreversible.

As to Arch-Bishop *Grindall*, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression, concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he liv'd and died under the high Displeasure of Queen *Elizabeth*; and whether therefore He, or that Glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings,

Sufferings, is, with all humility, submitted to your Lordships. I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your Opinions of the Charge advanced against me, in the Two first Articles; And as my own Conscience acquits, so, I trust, your Lordships will acquit me, of whatever is laid to my charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity, from her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope, I may say, without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope, it will be thought no Crime, to say it has scarce ever been in greater Danger, than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For, besides that Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which over-spreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety and growing Strength of those Schisms, which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies which are daily publish'd and propagated among us, I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused and vilified; never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridicul'd; never were Infidelity and Atheism it self, so impudent and barefac'd; never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to your Lordships, I have selected a few only, but those such, as I am perswaded, your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my Apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a less Occasion, might seem too harsh and vehement. A Man that dreads no Danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities, that do, as it were, call down God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his Love for his Country and Religion. If I have disclos'd such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships High-Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie undiscover'd to your Sight before; I shall think my self Happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that Over-flowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which, as yet, no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever design'd, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Not

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of *Popish* Emissaries, by me mention'd, I hope, without the least Offence, in my Sermon at *St. Paul's*, where I say, it were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for the Defence: and Security of the Church, were, at present, put strictly in Execution. For the *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this great City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Profelytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been call'd upon to prove the Truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made, that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts. Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have, indeed, provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons; just would be your Lordships most severe Resentments, if by any Parallel, by me drawn, I had insinuated, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin: I have already purg'd myself from this Imputation, by observing, that the Parallel ascrib'd to me, implies, that they who voted King *Charles I.* to be out of Danger, and those who conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons; whereas it is certain they were not. For, My Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons, a Year and a half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons, (not a tenth Part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or secluded, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament, for the Attainder of the King's Murderers, and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean, by any odious Parallel, to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordship's Patience, yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the 4th Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: And I must still, with your Lordships Leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be preferr'd.

After

After all that has been said, by the learned Managers for the Commons. What Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, or how do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a general Mal-Administration? How do I persuade her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Rebellion upon any pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty; or Seditious, for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, That One of the Managers for the House of Commons, vouchsafed to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, That when I spoke against Resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person, in View; and, that I might, therefore, agreeably to my Principles of *Non-Resistance*, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against her Sacred Majesty: Your Lordships will, once more, pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intention: And I should, in my Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a *Christian*, if I should give myself Leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preach'd the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, it is most apparent, that the Government which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it at all times, when I had Occasion to make mention of either. I hope, Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

‘ If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy,
 ‘ That Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the Throne of Her Ancestors: If to
 ‘ pray, that God may long preserve Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon: If earnestly to contend for the Safety, Rights and
 ‘ Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church:
 ‘ If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments of her Adversaries;
 ‘ and to assert her Right to the Throne, to have been so clear, ma

manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst Enemies (could such a
 pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) must acknowledge it; That
 she was proclaimed, as it were, by the Voice of God, in the U-
 niversal Joy, Satisfaction and Unanimity of her Subjects; That
 her Personal Merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a
 brighter Diadem than she wears: If to persuade her Subjects
 with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity, to enter into a necessary
 War, for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preserva-
 tion of our Church, Liberties and Constitution, against a powerful
 Adversary: If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking,
 to give a happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to crown
 our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as they
 are just and honourable: And, that in order to this, we are all
 bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our
 own Interest, unanimously and heartily to assist and support Her
 under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates,
 Lives and Fortunes can serve her: If to persuade her Subjects, that
 the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies should have
 that just Effect upon us, to unite as much in our Resolutions and Af-
 fections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and
 Troubles: If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitu-
 tion of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of
 our Parliament and Ministry; in the Strength and Number of our
 Armies, Fleets and Confederates; in the Care and watchful Vi-
 gilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct, of our General;
 and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious
 Queen: If to affirm, that She daily gives fresh Instances of her
 Wisdom, in the happy Administration of her Government; and
 in nothing more shews her Policy and distinguishing Judgment, than
 in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to
 their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Ser-
 vice and true Interest; and whom nothing could bribe or betray in-
 to a Party, wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd: If,
 with the most ardent Requests, to implore God's Providence, which
 thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties, has raised up and preserved
 Her Majesty to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with Success;
 that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of *Europe* in its
 just Rights and Limitations: And that as God has bestow'd a Crown
 upon Her, in this World, as a Reward of these heroick and pious
 Designs; so after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an
 higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify Her with a Glorious and
 Immortal Crown hereafter: If this, My Lords, I say, is falsely
 and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both
 in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the
 Constitution: If this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Au-
 thority under Her, both in Church and State, with a general Mal-
 Administration: If this be as an Incendiary to persuade her Subjects
 to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties: If this be instil-
 ling groundless Jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring
 up

up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies ; then, my Lords, I am Guilty of this Article of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty upon all Publick Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do : Of this, there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd. One of these I beg Leave of your Lordships, particularly to mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford*, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body, for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late Happy Revolution, as any Society in the Kingdom : To which Honourable Society, I humbly Appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also Appeal for the same, to a Right Reverend Lord, that now sits upon the Bench of Bishops

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my Hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have produc'd them in great Abundance from the Persons with whom I have convers'd ; from the Gentlemen, whom I have bred up ; and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any Tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects ; surely, some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen ; some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender ; some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am Guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar, at which I am to appear ; and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, My Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, My Lords, I hope, it appears, that I am not Guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd ; that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State, and that I may, with all Humility, apply to my own Case, the words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow ; ' Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Cæsar*, have I offended any thing at all.

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions ; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd, in my Impeachment, to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious ; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Man-

ner. as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me, must appear, to be acquitted or condemned; that I had no such Wicked, Seditious, or Malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more Detest and Abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce or condemn the late Happy Revolution; or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security: So far was I from intending to persuade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions; from instilling groundless Jealousies; fomenting destructive Divisions among them; or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence; that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions; to unite in one well-compacted Body; to be obedient to their Governors; and to support the present Establishment: So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am, from the bottom of my Soul, zealously and affectionately Loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her Majesty, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shewed my self to be to Her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where, in those Sermons, mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore, tho' I cannot, with my best Application, apprehend, how it comes to be said, in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it; yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity of Declaring myself, before your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have, of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Counsels at Home, and Her Arms abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, in Length as well as Glory; but when the Inheritrix of the Blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety; when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, shall, full of Years and Honour, be gathered to Her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, (since we are depriv'd of that Prince Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart; and whom God, in his Anger, took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Establish'd in the most illustrious House
of

of *Hannover*, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power; the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary, an indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange, than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government; unless it be, that Non-Resistance should overturn it. So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intimations were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

These outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the Discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating, with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rabscaks*, who despise the Living God, I beg leave to reply, in the Words of a Reverend Father of our Church, 'Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion, (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty, in such Cases, to express ourselves with Warmth and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour, who, tho' Meekness it self, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the prophesying the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office; will not consider that we are the Ambassadors of Christ; that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority; and that our Authority is derived from those, to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Whatever Expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be a happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet, I humbly hope, the above-mentioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions shall not be deemed High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire, it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve, by the Doctrines I advanced; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My

My Lords, These things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of your Lordships; I hope, that what I have already suffer'd as a supposed Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as, tho' his Innocence should, at last, be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those whose whole Capacity of doing Good in the World, principally depends upon it. My Lords, As the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer, as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd, in their Replication, to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that honourable House, I might add, that of a long and a close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body, so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the Weight of them; and among these, I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been so long time debar'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For, ever since I have had my Liberty, by the Favour of your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on your Lordships, from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.

All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the Publick Manner, the Length and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means, *I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World*: I have stood in this Place, Day after Day, to hear my self accus'd of the Blackest Crimes, and openly revil'd: I have been represented as a *Papist* in Disguise, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have abjur'd him; that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains. I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party* on the one hand, and a *most dangerous Incendiary* on the other; nay, an *Angel*, that is, a *Devil detach'd from the Infernal Regions*. All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that whatever be your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by your Lordships, at last, acquitted.

Yet

Yet I cannot reflect, without Comfort, (the greatest of Comforts, next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the *Nobility of Great Britain*, whose Princely Extraction and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles and splendid Fortunes, whole Hereditary Candor and Generosity, inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers; in a word, whose Solid Judgment and Exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity and Honor.

And when I consider, that I now stand, and am judg'd for some of the Doctrines of the Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers, and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred *Depositem* of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question; That it is one of those Eternal Truths, which You are solemnly commanded to Teach, and earnestly Contend for: When I consider, that 'tis that, our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider, that 'tis what your Selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to me, to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character; by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent, Church in the World. I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers; *Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great*; Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and *Moses*, I may add, Christ and his Apostles, did say.

For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expressions, yet as I insist upon my Innocence, with Respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrines of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to Acknowledge and Defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World, for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not; to exhort, rebuke, in

in Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprisoned, ruin'd on the other ! If this be our Case, who, indeed, is sufficient or these things ? And, how truly may we of the Ministry, above all Men living, apply to our selves, these Words of the Apostle ; if in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these Licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-denial, Taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions.

For my own Part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any Moment to the World ; or if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I, by that, do Service to my Queen my Church, or my Country ; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus ; but may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given, to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchased with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to your Lordships Judgment, be it what it will. One thing, I am sure, it can never take from me ; the Power of wishing and praying (and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned, I shall always pray) for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers ; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of his Word and Commandment, from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

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THE

SPEECH

OF

Henry Sacheverell, D. D.

Made in

WESTMINSTER-HALL,

On Tuesday, March 7, 17⁰⁹₁₀.



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S P E E C H.

My LORDS,

THE Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a Length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble, by saying any thing for my self, did I not think, that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self, are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the Thing principally aim'd at. I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party, not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the Means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd, in a Parliamentary-way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not; and therefore, as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the Highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my Behalf, by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me; should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then, I shall lay before you some few general Remarks, which, in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge; and shall then, with your Lordships Leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My

My Lords, the Charge brought against me, in these Articles, is of a very high and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd and read to your Lordships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by laying entire Sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by Piecing broken Sentences, and Conjoining distant and Independent Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of.

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd, by the several Articles, to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been referr'd to and read, with the same Ease as my Council referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, in the same Extent, as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to your Lordships; no Arguments, no Colours were Used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages. Whereas, to prove me Guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after the Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to persuade your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, When my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural, Construction has been always made of them; Nay, when my Words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct Contrary to what I have said; and when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accused, not only for what I am suppos'd to have said; but for what I am allow'd not to have said: Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were Criminal. A 2 Th 6

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made Use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which, if proved, might affect my Liberty and Fortune. No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel discharging the Duty of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion, with an honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes, perhaps, carrying him into Expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper for one in my Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with Degrees of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature, might have screen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with your Lordships Leave, shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against Me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, that the necessary Means us'd to bring about the late Happy Revolution, were Odious and Unjustifiable: In Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in General Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage, by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution; the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thoughts of including the Revolution, under my General Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms, in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships, as a Criminal, or as an Asperser of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine in the same Terms, before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation.

But, since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do, with all Humble Confidence,

dence, rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting, but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have, in this Case, asserted to be warranted by Law; and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel: The Doctrine I preach'd, being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them.

And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and Wholsome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution, by the late Act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships, to consider how far the Condemnation of me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the *British* Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where, in my Sermon, shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg Leave, once more, to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be understood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who with well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath prescribed.

My Lords, This then was, and still is my sincere Opinion; nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it: I have, indeed, blam'd, and, perhaps, with some Warmth and Earnestness blam'd, the Abuses which Men of no Conscience have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine, would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were level'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of that Act, which permits Protestant-Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every Man in his own Way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act, by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church; whereas that Act was intended for the Ease of those, whose Minds, thro' the unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already estrang'd from the Church, not, as I humbly

bly conceive, to indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration, a Word unknown to our Laws, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd, if I have said any Thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be judg'd by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any Want of Christian Moderation. Nor is, there, my Lords, any Want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the Nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion, which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular Laws, and can by no humane Power be dispens'd with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as she certainly doth not, then all Separatists from her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of Schism, the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates; for as no humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not, in themselves, carry such a Meaning; nor does the Connection of my Discourse require that Sense, or easily admit it. Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darkness which I referr'd to, as fit to be reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same Kind with those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, all lewd and immoral Practices; against these, my Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies, (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before your Lordships) I thought the Anathemas of the Church would be well employ'd: Such Anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore, by any Power on Earth, be irreversible.

As to Arch-Bishop Grindall, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression, concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he liv'd and died under the high Displeasure of Queen Elizabeth; and whether therefore He, or that Glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings,

Sufferings, is, with all humility, submitted to your Lordships. I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your Opinions of the Charge advanc'd against me, in the Two first Articles; And as my own Conscience acquits, so, I trust, your Lordships will acquit me, of whatever is laid to my charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity, from her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope, I may say, without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope, it will be thought no Crime, to say it has scarce ever been in greater Danger, than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For, besides that Deluge of Profaneness and Immorality, which over-spreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety and growing Strength of those Schisms, which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies which are daily publish'd and propagated among us, I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused and vilified; never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridicul'd; never were Infidelity and Atheism it self, so impudent and barefac'd; never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to your Lordships, I have selected a few only, but those such, as I am persuaded, your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my Apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a less Occasion, might seem too harsh and vehement. A Man that dreads no Danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities, that do, as it were, call down-God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his Love for his Country and Religion. If I have disclos'd such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships High-Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie undiscover'd to your Sight before; I shall think my self Happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that Over-flowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which, as yet, no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever design'd, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget, tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of *Popish* Emissaries, by me mention'd, I hope, without the least Offence, in my Sermon at *St. Paul's*, where I say, it were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for the Defence and Security of the Church, were, at present, put strictly in Execution. For the *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this great City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Profelytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been call'd upon to prove the Truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made, that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts. Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have, indeed, provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons; just would be your Lordships most severe Resentments, if by any Parallel, by me drawn, I had insinuated, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin: I have already purg'd myself from this Imputation, by observing, that the Parallel ascrib'd to me, implies, that they who voted *King Charles I.* to be out of Danger, and those who conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons; whereas it is certain they were not. For, My Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons, a Year and a half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons, (not a tenth Part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or seclused, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament, for the Attainder of the King's Murderers, and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean, by any odious Parallel, to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordship's Patience, yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the 4th Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: And I must still, with your Lordships Leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be preferr'd.

After

After all that has been said, by the learned Managers for the Commons. What Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, or how do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a general Mal-Administration? How do I persuade her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knaveish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Rebellion upon any pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty; or Seditious, for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, That One of the Managers for the House of Commons, vouchsafed to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, That when I spoke against Resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person, in View; and, that I might, therefore, agreeably to my Principles of *Non-Resistance*, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against her Sacred Majesty: Your Lordships will, once more, pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intention: And I should, in my Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a *Christian*, if I should give myself Leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preach'd the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, it is most apparent, that the Government which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it at all times, when I had Occasion to make mention of either. I hope, Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

' If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy,
' That Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the Throne of Her Ancestors: If to
' pray, that God may long preserve Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon: If earnestly to contend for the Safety, Rights and
' Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church:
' If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments of her Adversaries;
' and to assert her Right to the Throne, to have been so clear, ma

manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst Enemies (could such a
 pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) must acknowledge it; That
 she was proclaimed, as it were, by the Voice of God, in the U-
 niversal Joy, Satisfaction and Unanimity of her Subjects; That
 her Personal Merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a
 brighter Diadem than she wears: If to persuade her Subjects
 with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity, to enter into a necessary
 War, for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preserva-
 tion of our Church, Liberties and Constitution, against a powerful
 Adversary: If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking,
 to give a happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to crown
 our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as they
 are just and honourable: And, that in order to this, we are all
 bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our
 own Interest, unanimously and heartily to assist and support Her
 under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates,
 Lives and Fortunes can serve her: If to persuade her Subjects, that
 the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies should have
 that just Effect upon us, to unite as much in our Resolutions and Af-
 fections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and
 Troubles: If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitu-
 tion of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of
 our Parliament and Ministry; in the Strength and Number of our
 Armies, Fleets and Confederates; in the Care and watchful Vi-
 gilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct, of our General;
 and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious
 Queen; If to affirm, that She daily gives fresh Instances of her
 Wisdom, in the happy Administration of her Government; and
 in nothing more shews her Policy and distinguishing Judgment, than
 in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to
 their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Ser-
 vice and true Interest; and whom nothing could bribe or betray in-
 to a Party, wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd: If,
 with the most ardent Requests, to implore God's Providence, which
 thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties, has raised up and preserved
 Her Majesty to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with Success;
 that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of Europe in its
 just Rights and Limitations: And that as God has bestow'd a Crown
 upon Her, in this World, as a Reward of these heroick and pious
 Designs; so after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an
 higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify Her with a Glorious and
 Immortal Crown hereafter: If this, My Lords, I say, is falsely
 and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both
 in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the
 Constitution: If this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Au-
 thority under Her, both in Church and State, with a general Mal-
 Administration: If this be as an Incendiary to persuade her Subjects
 to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties: If this be instil-
 ling groundless jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring

up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies ; then, my Lords, I am Guilty of this Article of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty upon all Publick Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do : Of this, there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd. One of these I beg Leave of your Lordships, particularly to mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford*, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body, for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late Happy Revolution, as any Society in the Kingdom : To which Honourable Society, I humbly Appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also Appeal for the same, to a Right Reverend Lord, that now sits upon the Bench of Bishops

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my Hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have produc'd them in great Abundance from the Persons with whom I have convers'd ; from the Gentlemen, whom I have bred up ; and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any Tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects ; surely, some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen ; some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender ; some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am Guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar, at which I am to appear ; and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, My Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, My Lords, I hope, it appears, that I am not Guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd ; that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State, and that I may, with all Humility, apply to my own Case, the words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow ; ' Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Cæsar*, have I offended any thing at all.

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions ; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd, in my Impeachment, to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious ; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Man-

ner, as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me, must appear, to be a quitted or condemned; that I had no such Wicked, Seditious, or Malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more Detest and Abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce or condemn the late Happy Revolution; or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security: So far was I from intending to persuade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions; from instilling groundless Jealousies; fomenting destructive Divisions among them; or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence; that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions; to unite in one well-compacted Body; to be obedient to their Governors; and to support the present Establishment: So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am, from the bottom of my Soul, zealously and affectionately Loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her Majesty, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shewed my self to be to Her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where, in those Sermons, mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore, tho' I cannot, with my best Application, apprehend, how it comes to be said, in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it; yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity of Declaring myself, before your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have, of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Counsels at Home, and Her Arms abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, in Length as well as Glory; but when the Inheritor of the Blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety; when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, shall, full of Years and Honour, be gathered to Her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, (since we are depriv'd of that Prince Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart; and whom God, in his Anger, took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Establish'd in the most Illustrious House

of

of *Hannover*, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power; the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary, an indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange, than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government; unless it be, that Non-Resistance should overturn it. So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intimations were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

These outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the Discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating, with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rabbees*, who despise the Living God, I beg leave to reply, in the Words of a Reverend Father of our Church, 'Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion, (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty, in such Cases, to express ourselves with Warmth and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour, who, tho' Meekness itself, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the prophaneing the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office; will not consider that we are the Ambassadors of Christ; that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority; and that our Authority is derived from those, to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Whatever Expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be a happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet, I humbly hope, the above-mentioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions shall not be deemed High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire, it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve, by the Doctrines I advanced; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My

My Lords, These things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of your Lordships; I hope, that what I have already suffer'd as a suppos'd Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as, tho' his Innocence should, at last, be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those whose whole Capacity of doing Good in the World, principally depends upon it. My Lords, As the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer, as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd, in their Replication, to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that honourable House, I might add, that of a long and a close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body, so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the Weight of them; and among these, I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been so long time debarr'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For, ever since I have had my Liberty, by the Favour of your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on your Lordships, from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.

All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the Publick Manner, the Length and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means, *I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World*: I have stood in this Place, Day after Day, to hear my self accus'd of the Blackest Crimes, and openly revil'd: I have been represented as a *Papist* in Disguise, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have abjur'd him; that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains. I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party* on the one hand, and a *most dangerous Incendiary* on the other; nay, an *Angel*, that is, a *Devil detach'd from the Infernal Regions*. All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that whatever be your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by your Lordships, at last, acquitted.

Yet

Yet I cannot reflect, without Comfort, (the greatest of Comforts, next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the *Nobility of Great Britain*, whose Princely Extraction and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles and splendid Fortunes, whose Hereditary Candor and Generosity, inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers; in a word, whose Solid Judgment and Exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity and Honor.

And when I consider, that I now stand, and am judg'd for some of the Doctrines of the Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers, and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred *Depositem* of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question; That it is one of those Eternal Truths, which You are solemnly commanded to Teach, and earnestly Contend for: When I consider, that 'tis that, our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider, that 'tis what your Selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to me, to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character; by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent, Church in the World. I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers; *Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great; Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses, I may add, Christ and his Apostles, did say.*

For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expressions, yet as I insist upon my Innocence, with Respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrines of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to Acknowledge and Defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World, for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not; to exhort, rebuke,

in

in Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other! If this be our Case, who, indeed, is sufficient for these things? And, how truly may we of the Ministry, above all Men living, apply to our selves, these Words of the Apostle; if in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these Licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-denial, Taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions.

For my own Part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any Moment to the World; or if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I, by that, do Service to my Queen, my Church, or my Country; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus; but may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given, to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchased with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to your Lordships Judgment, be it what it will. One thing, I am sure, it can never take from me; the Power of wishing and praying (and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned, I shall always pray) for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of his Word and Commandment, from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

F I N I S.



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SPEECH

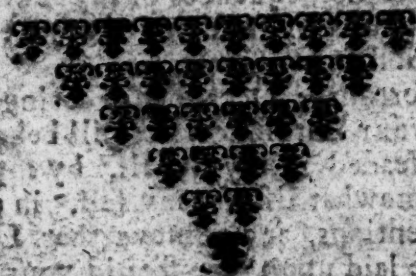
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My LORDS,

THE Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a Length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble, by saying any thing for my self, did I not think, that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self, are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the Thing principally aim'd at — I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party; not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the Means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd, in a Parliamentary-way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not; and therefore, as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the Highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my Behalf, by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then, I shall lay before you some few general Remarks, which, in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge; and shall then, with your Lordships Leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My

My Lords, the Charge brought against me, in these Articles, is of a very high and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd and read to your Lordships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by laying entire Sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by Piecing broken Sentences, and Conjoining distant and Independent Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of.

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd, by the several Articles, to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been refer'd to and read, with the same Ease as my Council refer'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, in the same Extent, as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to your Lordships; no Arguments, no Colours were Used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages. Whereas, to prove me Guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after the Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to persuade your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, When my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural, Construction has been always made of them; Nay, when my Words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct Contrary to what I have said; and when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accus'd, not only for what I am suppos'd to have said; but for what I am allow'd not to have said: Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were Criminal.

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made Use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which, if proved, might affect my Liberty and Fortune. No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel discharging the Duty of his Function; and rebuking Vice and Irreligion, with an honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes, perhaps, carrying him into Expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper for one in my Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with Degrees of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature, might have screen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with your Lordships Leave, shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against Me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, that the necessary Means us'd to bring about the late Happy Revolution, were Odious and Unjustifiable: In Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in General Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage, by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution; the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thoughts of including the Revolution, under my General Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms, in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships, as a Criminal, or as an Asperser of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine in the same Terms, before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation.

But, since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do, with all Humble Confidence,

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dence, rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting, but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have, in this Case, asserted to be warranted by Law; and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel: The Doctrine I preach'd, being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them.

And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and Wholsome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution, by the late Act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships, to consider how far the Condemnation of me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the *British* Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where, in my Sermon, shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg Leave, once more, to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be understood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath prescribed.

My Lords, This then was, and still is my sincere Opinion; nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it: I have, indeed, blam'd, and, perhaps, with some Warmth and Earnestness blam'd, the Abuses which Men of no Conscience have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine, would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were level'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of that Act, which permits Protestant-Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every Man in his own Way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act, by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church; whereas that Act was intended for the Ease of those, whose Minds, thro' the unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already estrang'd from the Church, not, as I humbly

bly conceive, to indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration, a Word unknown to our Laws, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd, if I have said any Thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be judg'd by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any Want of Christian Moderation. Nor is, there, my Lords, any Want of it; I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the Nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion, which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular Laws, and can by no humane Power be dispens'd with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as she certainly doth not, then all Separatists from her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of Schism, the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates; for as no humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not, in themselves, carry such a Meaning; nor does the Connection of my Discourse require that Sense, or easily admit it. Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darkness which I referr'd to, as fit to be reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same Kind with those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, all lewd and immoral Practices; against these, my Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies, (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before your Lordships) I thought the Anathemas of the Church would be well employ'd: Such Anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore, by any Power on Earth, be irreversible.

As to Arch-Bishop *Grindall*, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression, concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he liv'd and died under the high Displeasure of Queen *Elizabeth*; and whether therefore He, or that Glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings,

Sufferings, is, with all humility, submitted to your Lordships. I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your Opinions of the Charge advanc'd against me, in the Two first Articles; And as my own Conscience acquits, so, I trust, your Lordships will acquit, me of whatever is laid to my charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity, from her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope, I may say, without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope, it will be thought no Crime, to say it has scarce ever been in greater Danger, than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For, besides that Deluge of Profaneness and Immorality, which over-spreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety and growing Strength of those Schisms, which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies which are daily publish'd and propagated among us, I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused and vilified; never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridicul'd; never were Infidelity and Atheism it self, so impudent and barefac'd; never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to your Lordships, I have selected a few only, but those such, as I am persuaded, your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my Apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a less Occasion, might seem too harsh and vehement. A Man that dreads no Danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities, that do, as it were, call down God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his Love for his Country and Religion. If I have disclos'd such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships High-Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie undiscover'd to your Sight before; I shall think my self Happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that Over-flowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which, as yet, no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever design'd, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget, tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of *Papish* Emissaries, by me mention'd, I hope, without the least Offence, in my Sermon at *St. Paul's*, where I say, it were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for the Defence: and Security of the Church, were, at present, put strictly in Execution. For the *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this great City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Proselytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been call'd upon to prove the Truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made, that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts. Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have, indeed, provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons; just would be your Lordships most severe Resentments; if by any Parallel, by me drawn, I had insinuated, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin: I have already purg'd myself from this Imputation, by observing, that the Parallel ascrib'd to me, implies, that they who voted *King Charles I.* to be out of Danger, and those who conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons; whereas it is certain they were not. For, My Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons, a Year and a half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons, (not a tenth Part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or secluded, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament, for the Attainder of the King's Murderers, and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean, by any odious Parallel, to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordship's Patience, yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the 4th Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: And I must still, with your Lordships Leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be preferr'd.

After

After all that has been said, by the learned Managers for the Commons. What Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, or how do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a general Mal-Administration? How do I persuade her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Rebellion upon any pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty; or Seditious, for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, That One of the Managers for the House of Commons, vouchsafed to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, That when I spoke against Resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person, in View; and, that I might, therefore, agreeably to my Principles of *Non-Resistance*, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against her Sacred Majesty: Your Lordships will, once more, pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intention: And I should, in my Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a *Christian*, if I should give myself Leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preach'd the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, it is most apparent, that the Government which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it at all times, when I had Occasion to make mention of either. I hope, Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

' If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy, That Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the Throne of Her Ancestors: If to pray, that God may long preserve Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon: If earnestly to contend for the Safety, Rights and Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church: If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments of her Adversaries; and to assert her Right to the Throne, to have been so clear, ma

manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst Enemies (could such a
 pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) must acknowledge it; That
 she was proclaimed, as it were, by the Voice of God, in the U-
 niversal Joy, Satisfaction and Unanimity of her Subjects; That
 her Personal Merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a
 brighter Diadem than she wears: If to persuade her Subjects
 with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity, to enter into a necessary
 War, for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preserva-
 tion of our Church, Liberties and Constitution, against a powerful
 Adversary: If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking,
 to give a happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to crown
 our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as they
 are just and honourable: And, that in order to this, we are all
 bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our
 own Interest, unanimously and heartily to assist and support Her
 under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates,
 Lives and Fortunes can serve her: If to persuade her Subjects, that
 the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies should have
 that just Effect upon us, to unite as much in our Resolutions and Af-
 fections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and
 Troubles: If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitu-
 tion of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of
 our Parliament and Ministry; in the Strength and Number of our
 Armies, Fleets and Confederates; in the Care and watchful Vi-
 gilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct, of our General;
 and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious
 Queen: If to affirm, that She daily gives fresh Instances of her
 Wisdom, in the happy Administration of her Government; and
 in nothing more shews her Policy and distinguishing Judgment, than
 in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to
 their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Ser-
 vice and true Interest; and whom nothing could bribe or betray in-
 to a Party, wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd: If,
 with the most ardent Requests, to implore God's Providence, which
 thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties, has raised up and preserved
 Her Majesty to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with Success;
 that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of *Europe* in its
 just Rights and Limitations: And that as God has bestow'd a Crown
 upon Her, in this World, as a Reward of these heroick and pious
 Designs; so after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an
 higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify Her with a Glorious and
 Immortal Crown hereafter: If this, My Lords, I say, is falsely
 and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both
 in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the
 Constitution: If this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Au-
 thority under Her, both in Church and State, with a general Mal-
 Administration: If this be as an Incendiary to persuade her Subjects
 to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties: If this be instil-
 ling groundless jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring

up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies ; then, my Lords, I am Guilty of this Article of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty upon all Publick Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do : Of this, there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd. One of these I beg Leave of your Lordships, particularly to mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford*, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body, for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late Happy Revolution, as any Society in the Kingdom : To which Honourable Society, I humbly Appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also Appeal for the same, to a Right Reverend Lord, that now sits upon the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my Hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have produc'd them in great Abundance from the Persons with whom I have convers'd ; from the Gentlemen, whom I have bred up ; and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any Tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects ; surely, some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen ; some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender ; some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am Guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar, at which I am to appear ; and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, My Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, My Lords, I hope, it appears, that I am not Guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd ; that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State, and that I may, with all Humility, apply to my own Case, the words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow ; ' Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Cæsar*, have I offended any thing at all.

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions ; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd, in my Impeachment, to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious ; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Man-

ner. as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me, must appear, to be acquitted or condemned; that I had no such Wicked, Seditious, or Malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more Detest and Abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce or condemn the late Happy Revolution; or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security: So far was I from intending to persuade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions; from instilling groundless Jealousies; fomenting destructive Divisions among them; or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence; that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions; to unite in one well-compacted Body; to be obedient to their Governors; and to support the present Establishment: So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am, from the bottom of my Soul, zealously and affectionately Loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her Majesty, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shewed my self to be to Her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where, in those Sermons, mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore, tho' I cannot, with my best Application, apprehend, how it comes to be said, in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it; yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity of Declaring myself, before your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have, of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Counsels at Home, and Her Arms abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, in Length as well as Glory; but when the Inheritrix of the Blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety; when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, shall, full of Years and Honour, be gathered to Her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, (since we are depriv'd of that Prince Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart; and whom God, in his Anger, took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Establish'd in the most Illustrious House

of

of *Hannover*, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power; the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary, an indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange, than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government; unless it be, that Non-Resistance should overturn it. So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intimations were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

These outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the Discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating, with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rabscaks*, who despise the Living God, I beg leave to reply, in the Words of a Reverend Father of our Church, 'Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion; (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty, in such Cases, to express ourselves with Warmth and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour, who, tho' Meekness it self, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the prophaning the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office; will not consider that we are the Ambassadors of Christ; that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority; and that our Authority is derived from those, to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Whatever Expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be a happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet, I humbly hope, the above-mentioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions shall not be deemed High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire, it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve, by the Doctrines I advanced; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My

My Lords, These things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of your Lordships; I hope, that what I have already suffer'd as a suppos'd Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as, tho' his Innocence should, at last, be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those whose whole Capacity of doing Good in the World, principally depends upon it. My Lords, As the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer, as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd, in their Replication, to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that honourable House, I might add, that of a long and a close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body, so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the Weight of them; and among these, I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been so long time debarr'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For, ever since I have had my Liberty, by the Favour of your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on your Lordships, from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.

All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the Publick Manner, the Length and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means, *I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World*: I have stood in this Place, Day after Day, to hear my self accus'd of the Blackest Crimes, and openly revil'd: I have been represented as a *Papist* in Disguise, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have abjur'd him; that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains. I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party* on the one hand, and a *most dangerous Incendiary* on the other; nay, an *Angel*, that is, a *Devil detach'd from the Infernal Regions*. All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that whatever be your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by your Lordships, at last, acquitted.

Yet

Yet I cannot reflect, without Comfort, (the greatest of Comforts, next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the *Nobility of Great Britain*, whose Princely Extraction and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles and splendid Fortunes, whole Hereditary Candor and Generosity, inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers; in a word, whose Solid Judgment and Exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity and Honor.

And when I consider, that I now stand, and am judg'd for some of the Doctrines of the Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers, and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred *Depositum* of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question; That it is one of those Eternal Truths, which You are solemnly commanded to Teach, and earnestly Contend for: When I consider, that 'tis that, our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider, that 'tis what your Selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to me, to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character; by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent, Church in the World. I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers; *Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great; Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses, I may add, Christ and his Apostles, did say.*

For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expressions, yet as I insist upon my Innocence, with Respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrines of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to Acknowledge and Defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World, for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not; to exhort, rebuke,

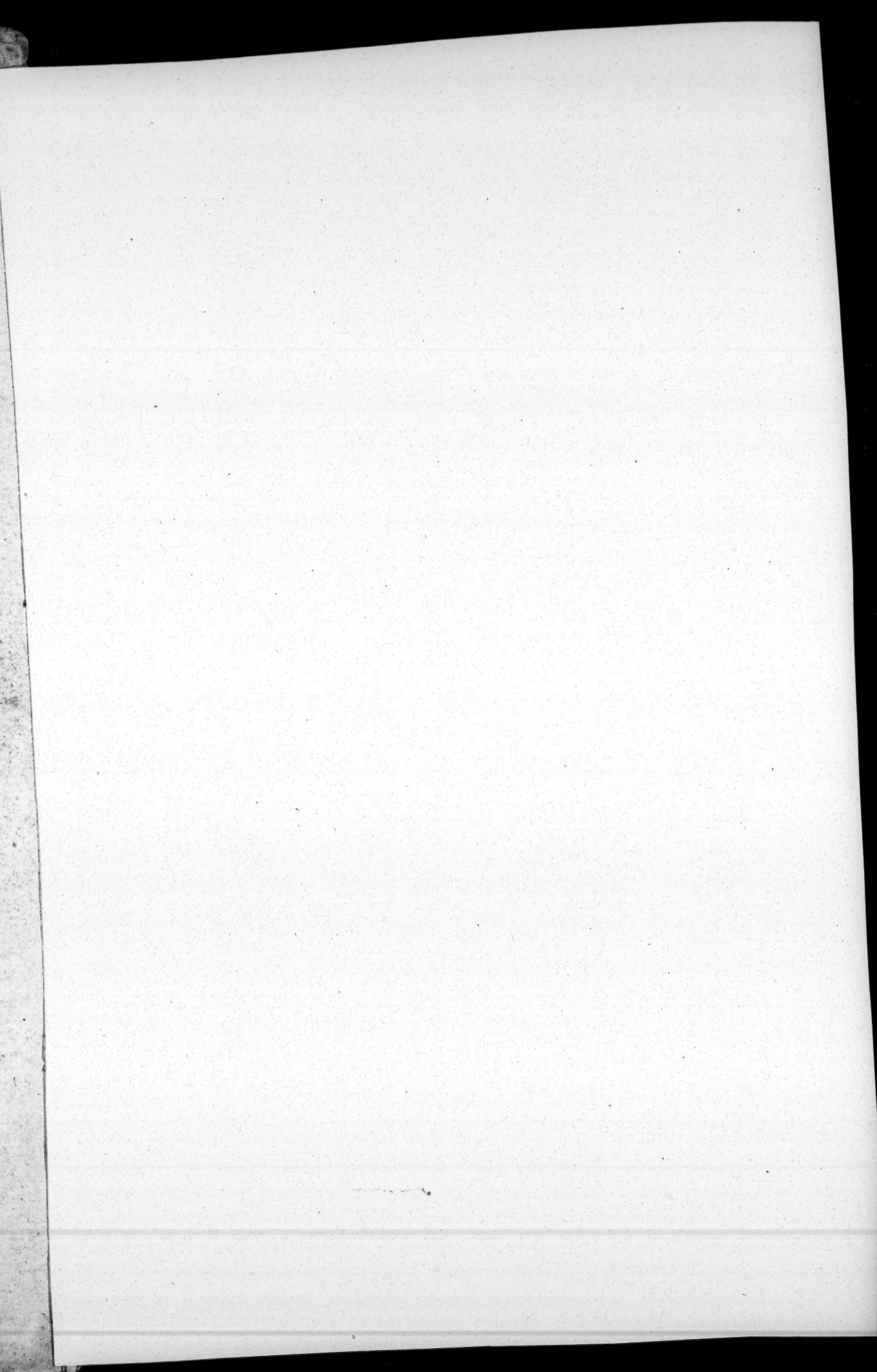
in Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other ! If this be our Case, who, indeed, is sufficient or these things ? And, how truly may we of the Ministry, above all Men living, apply to our selves, these Words of the Apostle ; if in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these Licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-denial, Taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions.

For my own Part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any Moment to the World ; or if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I, by that, do Service to my Queen, my Church, or my Country ; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus ; but may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given, to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchased with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to your Lordships Judgment, be it what it will. One thing, I am sure, it can never take from me ; the Power of wishing and praying (and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned, I shall always pray) for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers ; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of his Word and Commandment, from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

FINIS.

B^CL



THE Sach. 75/7(4)

SPEECH

OF

Henry Sacheverell, D. D.

Made in

WESTMINSTER-HALL,

On Tuesday, March 7, 17⁰⁹.



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S P E E C H.

My LORDS,

THE Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a Length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble, by saying any thing for my self, did I not think, that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self, are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the Thing principally aim'd at. I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party, not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the Means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd, in a Parliamentary-way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not; and therefore, as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the Highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my Behalf, by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then, I shall lay before you some few general Remarks, which, in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, To prove and support the Articles of their Charge; and shall then, with your Lordships Leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My

My Lords, the Charge brought against me, in these Articles, is of a very high and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd and read to your Lordships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by laying entire Sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by Piecing broken Sentences, and Conjoining distant and Independent Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of.

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd, by the several Articles, to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been referr'd to and read, with the same Ease as my Council referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, in the same Extent, as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to your Lordships; no Arguments, no Colours were Used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages. Whereas, to prove me Guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after the Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to persuade your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, When my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural, Construction has been always made of them; Nay, when my Words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct Contrary to what I have said; and when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accused, not only for what I am suppos'd to have said; but for what I am allow'd not to have said: Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were Criminal. A 2 These

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made Use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which, if proved, might affect my Liberty and Fortune. No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel discharging the Duty of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion, with an honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes, perhaps, carrying him into Expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper for one in my Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with Degrees of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature, might have screen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with your Lordships Leave, shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against Me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, that the necessary Means us'd to bring about the late Happy Revolution, were Odious and Unjustifiable: In Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in General Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage, by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution; the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thoughts of including the Revolution, under my General Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms, in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships, as a Criminal, or as an Asperfer of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine in the same Terms, before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation.

But, since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do, with all Humble Confidence,

dence, rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting, but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have, in this Case, asserted to be warranted by Law; and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel: The Doctrine I preach'd, being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them.

And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and Wholsome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution, by the late Act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships, to consider how far the Condemnation of me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the *British* Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where, in my Sermon, shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg Leave, once more, to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be understood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who with well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath prescribed.

My Lords, This then was, and still is my sincere Opinion; nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it: I have, indeed, blam'd, and, perhaps, with some Warmth and Earnestness blam'd, the Abuses which Men of no Conscience have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine, would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were level'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of that Act, which permits Protestant-Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every Man in his own Way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act, by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church; whereas that Act was intended for the Ease of those, whose Minds, thro' the unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already estrang'd from the Church, not, as I hum-

bly conceive, to indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration, a Word unknown to our Laws, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd, if I have said any Thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be judg'd by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any Want of Christian Moderation. Nor is, there, my Lords, any Want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the Nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion, which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular Laws, and can by no humane Power be dispens'd with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as she certainly doth not, then all Separatists from her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of Schism, the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates; for as no humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not, in themselves, carry such a Meaning; nor does the Connection of my Discourse require that Sense, or easily admit it. Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darkeness which I referr'd to, as fit to be reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same Kind with those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, all lewd and immoral Practices; against these, my Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies, (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before your Lordships) I thought the Anathemas of the Church would be well employ'd: Such Anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore, by any Power on Earth, be irreversible.

As to Arch-Bishop Grindall, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression, concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he liv'd and died under the high Displeasure of Queen *Elizabeth*; and whether therefore He, or that Glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his Disgrace and

Sufferings,

Sufferings, is, with all humility, submitted to your Lordships. I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your Opinions of the Charge advanced against me, in the Two first Articles; And as my own Conscience acquits, so, I trust, your Lordships will acquit me, of whatever is laid to my charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity, from her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope, I may say, without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope, it will be thought no Crime, to say it has scarce ever been in greater Danger, than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For, besides that Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which over-spreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety and growing Strength of those Schisms, which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies which are daily publish'd and propagated among us, I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused and vilified; never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridicul'd; never were Infidelity and Atheism it self, so impudent and barefac'd; never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to your Lordships, I have selected a few only, but those such, as I am persuaded, your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my Apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a less Occasion, might seem too harsh and vehement. A Man that dreads no Danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities, that do, as it were, call down God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his Love for his Country and Religion. If I have disclos'd such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships High-Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie undiscover'd to your Sight before; I shall think my self Happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that Over-flowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which, as yet, no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever design'd, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of *Popish* Emissaries, by me mention'd, I hope, without the least Offence, in my Sermon at *St. Paul's*, where I say, it were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for the Defence, and Security of the Church, were, at present, put strictly in Execution. For the *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this great City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Proselytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been call'd upon to prove the Truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made, that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts. Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have, indeed, provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons; just would be your Lordships most severe Resentments, if by any Parallel, by me drawn, I had insinuated, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin: I have already purg'd myself from this Imputation, by observing, that the Parallel ascrib'd to me, implys, that they who voted King *Charles I.* to be out of Danger, and those who conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons; whereas it is certain they were not. For, My Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons, a Year and a half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons, (not a tenth Part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or secluded, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament, for the Attainder of the King's Murderers, and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean, by any odious Parallel, to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordship's Patience, yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the 4th Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: And I must still, with your Lordships Leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is

always to be preferr'd.

After

After all that has been said, by the learned Managers for the Commons. What Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, or how do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a general Mal-Administration? How do I persuade her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Rebellion upon any pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty; or Seditious, for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, That One of the Managers for the House of Commons, vouchsafed to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, That when I spoke against Resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person, in View; and, that I might, therefore, agreeably to my Principles of *Non-Resistance*, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against her Sacred Majesty: Your Lordships will, once more, pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intention: And I should, in my Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a *Christian*, if I should give myself Leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preach'd the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, it is most apparent, that the Government which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it at all times, when I had Occasion to make mention of either. I hope, Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

' If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy,
' That Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the Throne of Her Ancestors: If to
' pray, that God may long preserve Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon: If earnestly to contend for the Safety, Rights and
' Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church:
' If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments of her Adversaries;
' and to assert her Right to the Throne, to have been so clear, ma

manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst Enemies (could such a
 pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) must acknowledge it; That
 she was proclaimed, as it were, by the Voice of God, in the U-
 niversal Joy, Satisfaction and Unanimity of her Subjects; That
 her Personal Merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a
 brighter Diadem than she wears: If to persuade her Subjects
 with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity, to enter into a necessary
 War, for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preserva-
 tion of our Church, Liberties and Constitution, against a powerful
 Adversary: If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking,
 to give a happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to crown
 our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as they
 are just and honourable: And, that in order to this, we are all
 bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our
 own Interest, unanimously and heartily to assist and support Her
 under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates,
 Lives and Fortunes can serve her: If to persuade her Subjects, that
 the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies should have
 that just Effect upon us, to unite as much in our Resolutions and Af-
 fections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and
 Troubles: If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitu-
 tion of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of
 our Parliament and Ministry; in the Strength and Number of our
 Armies, Fleets and Confederates; in the Care and watchful Vi-
 gilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct, of our General;
 and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious
 Queen: If to affirm, that She daily gives fresh Instances of her
 Wisdom, in the happy Administration of her Government; and
 in nothing more shews her Policy and distinguishing Judgment, than
 in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to
 their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Ser-
 vice and true Interest; and whom nothing could bribe or betray in-
 to a Party, wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd: If,
 with the most ardent Requests, to implore God's Providence, which
 thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties, has raised up and preserved
 Her Majesty to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with Success;
 that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of *Europe* in its
 just Rights and Limitations: And that as God has bestow'd a Crown
 upon Her, in this World, as a Reward of these heroick and pious
 Designs; so after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an
 higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify Her with a Glorious and
 Immortal Crown hereafter: If this, My Lords, I say, is falsely
 and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both
 in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the
 Constitution: If this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Au-
 thority under Her, both in Church and State, with a general Mal-
 Administration: If this be as an Incendiary to persuade her Subjects
 to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties: If this be instil-
 ling groundless Jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring
 up

up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies ; then, my Lords, I am Guilty of this Article of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty upon all Publick Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do : Of this, there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd. One of these I beg Leave of your Lordships, particularly to mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford*, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body, for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late Happy Revolution, as any Society in the Kingdom : To which Honourable Society, I humbly Appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also Appeal for the same, to a Right Reverend Lord, that now sits upon the Bench of Bishops

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my Hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have produc'd them in great Abundance from the Persons with whom I have convers'd ; from the Gentlemen, whom I have bred up ; and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any Tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects ; surely, some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen ; some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender ; some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am Guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar, at which I am to appear ; and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, My Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, My Lords, I hope, it appears, that I am not Guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd ; that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State, and that I may, with all Humility, apply to my own Case, the words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow ; ' Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Cæsar*, have I offended any thing at all.

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions ; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd, in my Impeachment, to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious ; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Man-

ner, as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me, must appear, to be acquitted or condemned; that I had no such Wicked, Seditious, or Malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more Detest and Abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce or condemn the late Happy Revolution; or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security: So far was I from intending to persuade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions; from instilling groundless Jealousies; fomenting destructive Divisions among them; or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence; that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions; to unite in one well-compacted Body; to be obedient to their Governors; and to support the present Establishment: So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am, from the bottom of my Soul, zealously and affectionately Loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her Majesty, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shewed my self to be to Her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where, in those Sermons, mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore, tho' I cannot, with my best Application, apprehend, how it comes to be said, in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it; yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity of Declaring myself, before your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have, of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Counsels at Home, and Her Arms abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, in Length as well as Glory; but when the Inheritrix of the Blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety; when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, shall, full of Years and Honour, be gathered to Her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, (since we are depriv'd of that Prince Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart; and whom God, in his Anger, took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Establish'd in the most Illustrious House

of

of *Hannover*, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power ; the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it ; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary, an indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange, than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government ; unless it be, that Non-Resistance should overturn it. So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intimations were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

These outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the Discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating, with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rabshacas*, who despise the Living God, I beg leave to reply, In the Words of a Reverend Father of our Church, ' Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion, (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty, in such Cases, to express ourselves with Warmth and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour, who, tho' Meekness it self, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the prophaning the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke ; and those who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office ; will not consider that we are the Ambassadors of Christ ; that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority ; and that our Authority is derived from those, to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Whatever Expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be a happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet, I humbly hope, the above-mentioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions shall not be deemed High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire, it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve, by the Doctrines I advanced ; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My Lords, These things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of your Lordships; I hope, that what I have already suffer'd as a suppos'd Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as, tho' his Innocence should, at last, be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those whose whole Capacity of doing Good in the World, principally depends upon it. My Lords, As the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer, as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd, in their Replication, to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that honourable House, I might add, that of a long and a close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body, so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the Weight of them; and among these, I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been so long time debarr'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For, ever since I have had my Liberty, by the Favour of your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on your Lordships, from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.

All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the Publick Manner, the Length and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means, *I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World*: I have stood in this Place, Day after Day, to hear my self accus'd of the Blackest Crimes, and openly revil'd: I have been represented as a *Papist in Disguise*, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have abjur'd him; that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains. I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party* on the one hand, and a *most dangerous Incendiary* on the other; nay, an *Angel*, that is, a *Devil detach'd from the Infernal Regions*. All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that whatever be your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by your Lord-

Yet I cannot reflect, without Comfort, (the greatest of Comforts, next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the Nobility of Great Britain, whose Princely Extraction and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles and splendid Fortunes, whose Hereditary Candor and Generosity, inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers; in a word, whose Solid Judgment and Exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-ruled by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity and Honor.

And when I consider, that I now stand, and am judg'd for some of the Doctrines of the Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers, and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred *Depositem* of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question; That it is one of those Eternal Truths, which You are solemnly commanded to Teach, and earnestly Contend for: When I consider, that 'tis that, our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider, that 'tis what your Selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to me, to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character; by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent, Church in the World. I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers; *Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great*; Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses, I may add, Christ and his Apostles, did say.

For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expressions, yet as I insist upon my Innocence, with Respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrines of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to Acknowledge and Defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World, for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not; to exhort rebuke,

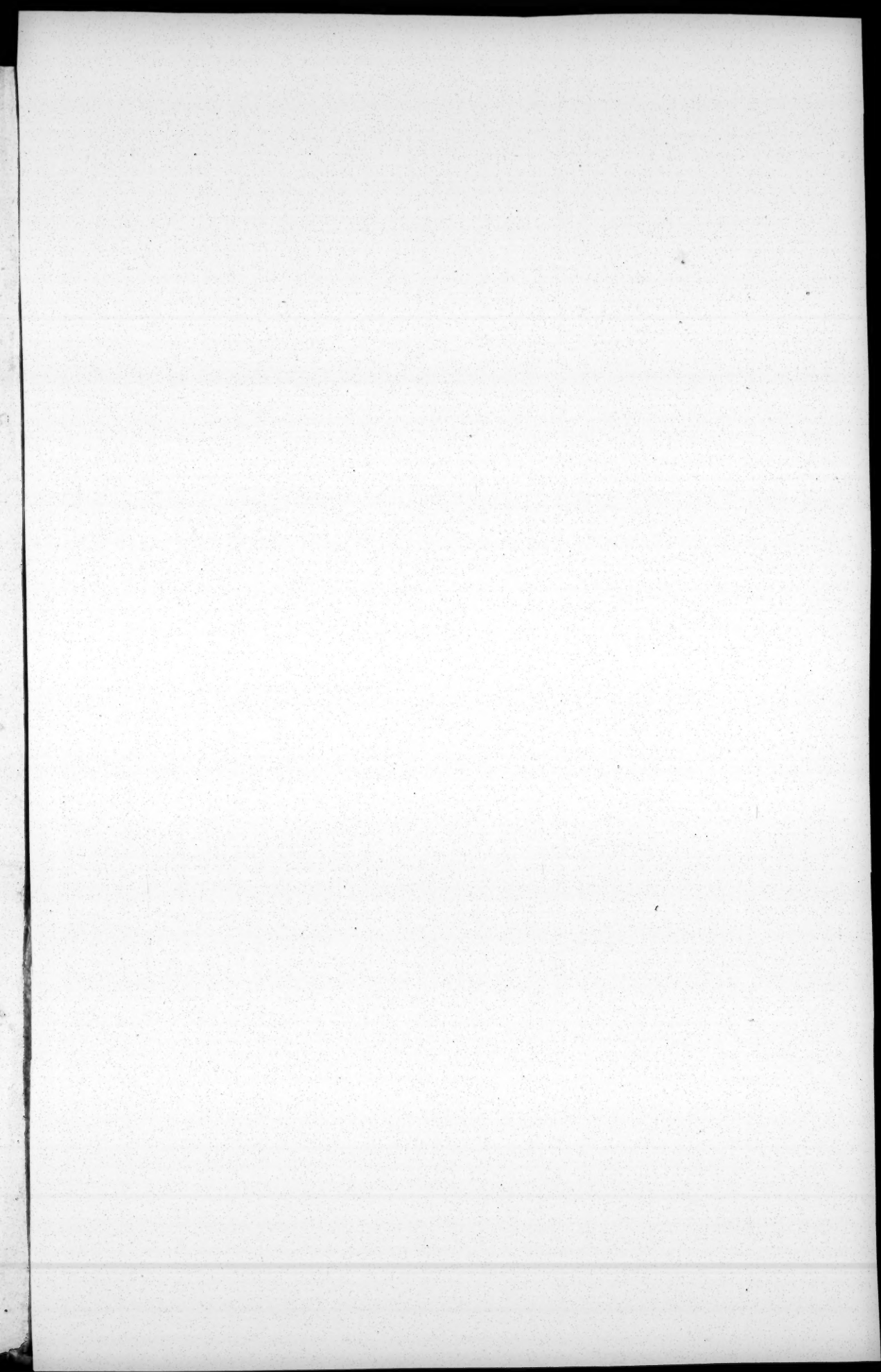
in Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other ! If this be our Case, who, indeed, is sufficient or these things ? And, how truly may we of the Ministry, above all Men living, apply to our selves, these Words of the Apostle ; if in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these Licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-denial, Taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions.

For my own Part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any Moment to the World ; or if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I, by that, do Service to my Queen, my Church, or my Country ; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus ; but may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given, to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchased with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to your Lordships Judgment, be it what it will. One thing, I am sure, it can never take from me ; the Power of wishing and praying (and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned, I shall always pray) for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers ; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of his Word and Commandment, from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

F I N I S.

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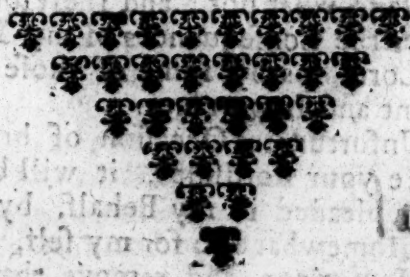
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Henry Sacheverell, D.D.

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S P E E C H.

My LORDS,

THE Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a Length, that I should not add to your Lordships Trouble, by saying any thing for my self, did I not think, that in such a Cause as this (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self, are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho' I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the Thing principally aim'd at. I am, it seems, an insignificant Tool of a Party, not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the Means of it, to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fix'd, in a Parliamentary-way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not; and therefore, as insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Tryal (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the Highest Moment and Importance.

Since I am the Unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my Behalf, by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made good against me.

With your Lordships Permission, then, I shall lay before you some few general Remarks, which, in my humble Opinion, may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable the House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge; and shall then, with your Lordships Leave, say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My

My Lords, the Charge brought against me, in these Articles, is of a very high and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd and read to your Lordships out of my Sermons, or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by laying entire Sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by Piecing broken Sentences, and Conjoining distant and Independent Passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of.

I am unacquainted, My Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication, that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd, by the several Articles, to have said, than that so many Hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been referr'd to and read, with the same Ease as my Council referr'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other Eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, in the same Extent, as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to your Lordships; no Arguments, no Colours were Used, because none were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages. Whereas, to prove me Guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after the Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to persuade your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

My Lords, When my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst and most invidious, tho' at the same time the most strain'd and unnatural, Construction has been always made of them; Nay, when my Words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct Contrary to what I have said; and when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accus'd, not only for what I am suppos'd to have said; but for what I am allow'd not to have said; Not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd. I have been Charg'd with Negative Crimes, as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were Criminal.

These, My Lords, are the Methods that have been made Use of to prove me Guilty of Crimes, which, if proved, might affect my Liberty and Fortune. No favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel discharging the Duty of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion, with an honest and well meant Zeal; but sometimes, perhaps, carrying him into Expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, My Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper for one in my Circumstances, that in the course of my Accusation, I have been styl'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with Degrees of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a Regard to this Solemn and Awful Judicature, might have screen'd me.

But, My Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with your Lordships Leave, shall proceed to make some few short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against Me.

I am charg'd, My Lords, in the first Article, with having maintained, that the necessary Means us'd to bring about the late Happy Revolution, were Odious and Unjustifiable: In Proof of which, it has been urg'd, that I have in General Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power, upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage, by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution, nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution; the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

My Lords, I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least Thoughts of including the Revolution, under my General Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same General Terms, in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our first Reformers, by a continued Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little Reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships, as a Criminal, or as an Asperser of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine in the same Terms, before their late Majesties, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve) before each House of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation.

But, since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do, with all Humble Confidence,

dence, rely upon your Lordships Justice, not doubting, but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have, in this Case, asserted to be warranted by Law; and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel: The Doctrine I preach'd, being the Doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenor, the main Scope and Design of them.

And those Homilies being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and Wholsome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that Statute being made Perpetual and Fundamental to our Constitution, by the late Act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships, to consider how far the Condemnation of me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the *British* Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where, in my Sermon, shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters; that on the contrary, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg Leave, once more, to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*. I would not (I there say) be understood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath prescribed.

My Lords, This then was, and still is my sincere Opinion; nor am I conscious that I have utter'd one Word inconsistent with it: I have, indeed, blam'd, and, perhaps, with some Warmth and Earnestness blam'd, the Abuses which Men of no Conscience have made of the Legal Exemption granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nor could I think that those Reprehensions of mine, would have drawn upon me the Displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were level'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of that Act, which permits Protestant-Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every Man in his own Way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of that Act, by the Dissenters themselves, who, I am told, do (both Pastors and People) rarely observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by that Act; and who erect Seminaries for educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church; whereas that Act was intended for the Ease of those, whose Minds, thro' the unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already estrang'd from the Church, not, as I humbly

bly conceive, to indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to propagate and perpetuate their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the Law, I have no where complain'd; of Toleration, a Word unknown to our Laws, and implying, as I am inform'd, much more than our Law-givers design'd, if I have said any Thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be judg'd by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good Subject, or betraying any Want of Christian Moderation. Nor is, there, my Lords, any Want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal Punishments, to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways alter'd the Nature of Schism, or extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion, which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on all Christians by the Rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular Laws, and can by no humane Power be dispens'd with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful Terms of Communion, as she certainly doth not, then all Separatists from her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of Schism, the Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to affect their Bodies or Estates; for as no humane Law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration. I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not, in themselves, carry such a Meaning; nor does the Connection of my Discourse require that Sense, or easily admit it. Schismaticks, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounc'd; the Works of Darknes which I referr'd to, as fit to be reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same Kind with those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, all lewd and immoral Practices; against these, my Lords, and against Heresies and Blasphemies, (a black Catalogue of which has been display'd before your Lordships) I thought the Anathemas of the Church would be well employ'd: Such Anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be ratified in Heaven, and would, therefore, by any Power on Earth, be irreversible.

As to Arch-Bishop *Grindall*, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression, concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his Remissness in Church Government, he liv'd and died under the high Displeasure of Queen *Elizabeth*; and whether therefore He, or that Glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings,

Sufferings, is, with all humility, submitted to your Lordships. I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your Opinions of the Charge advanc'd against me, in the Two first Articles; And as my own Conscience acquits, so, I trust, your Lordships will acquit, me of whatever is laid to my charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity, from her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope, I may say, without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from other Causes, without any Reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any Contradiction to her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope, it will be thought no Crime, to say it has scarce ever been in greater Danger, than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For, besides that Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which over-spreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety and growing Strength of those Schisms, which weaken and divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies which are daily publish'd and propagated among us, I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused and vilified; never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridicul'd; never were Infidelity and Atheism it self, so impudent and barefac'd; never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produc'd to your Lordships, I have selected a few only, but those such, as I am persuaded, your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if my Apprehension of the sad Consequences we may expect from such crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a less Occasion, might seem too harsh and vehement. A Man that dreads no Danger from such unparallel'd Iniquities, that do, as it were, call down God's severest Judgments upon that poor Church and Nation, wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his Love for his Country and Religion. If I have disclos'd such a frightful and detestable Scene of Impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships High-Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie undiscover'd to your Sight before; I shall think my self Happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may, by God's Grace, become the mean Instrument of putting a stop to that Over-flowing of Ungodliness and Blasphemy, which, as yet, no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever design'd, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget tho' it was forgotten by the Honourable Managers, another Ground of Danger arising to this Church from the Attempts of *Popish* Emissaries, by me mention'd, I hope, without the least Offence, in my Sermon at St. Paul's, where I say, it were highly to be wish'd, that those excellent Laws made for the Defence and Security of the Church, were, at present, put strictly in Execution. For the *Roman Catholick* Agents and Missionaries that swarm about this great City, as 'twere in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more busy in making Profelytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and perverting and debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been call'd upon to prove the Truth of this Passage, nor has it been reckon'd among the false Insinuations I have made, that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger upon any of these Accounts. Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have, indeed, provided against these Dangers by wholesome Laws, and I hope, I did not exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to preach before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons; just would be your Lordships most severe Resentments if by any Parallel, by me drawn, I had insinuated, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin: I have already purg'd myself from this Imputation, by observing, that the Parallel ascrib'd to me, implies, that they who voted King *Charles I.* to be out of Danger, and those who conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons; whereas it is certain they were not. For, My Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons, a Year and a half before his Execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons, (not a tenth Part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd or secluded, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, My Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact, made by one of the learned Managers; but this, My Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament, for the Attainder of the King's Murderers, and is an Evidence that I could not possibly mean, by any odious Parallel, to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordship's Patience, yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the 4th Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature, none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me; otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: And I must still, with your Lordships Leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be preferr'd.

After

After all that has been said, by the learned Managers for the Commons. What Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, or how do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a general Mal-Administration? How do I persuade her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by Knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Rebellion upon any pretence whatsoever? These Things, My Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty; or Seditious, for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the Opening of this Charge against me, That One of the Managers for the House of Commons, vouchsafed to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose, That when I spoke against Resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person, in View; and, that I might, therefore, agreeably to my Principles of *Non-Resistance*, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against her Sacred Majesty: Your Lordships will, once more, pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such Traiterous Intention: And I should, in my Opinion, be unworthy of the Name of a *Christian*, if I should give myself Leave to cast such a black and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preach'd the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, it is most apparent, that the Government which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government. And I humbly conceive that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it at all times, when I had Occasion to make mention of either. I hope, Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeigned Duty and Allegiance.

' If to call it the most inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy,
' That Her Majesty, the good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the Throne of Her Ancestors: If to
' pray, that God may long preserve Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon: If earnestly to contend for the Safety, Rights and
' Establishment of Her Majesty, together with those of the Church:
' If to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments of her Adversaries;
' and to assert her Right to the Throne, to have been so clear, ma

manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst Enemies (could such a
 pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) must acknowledge it; That
 she was proclaimed, as it were, by the Voice of God, in the U-
 niversal Joy, Satisfaction and Unanimity of her Subjects; That
 her Personal Merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a
 brighter Diadem than she wears: If to persuade her Subjects
 with the most hearty Zeal and Generosity, to enter into a necessary
 War, for the Defence of Her Majesty and the Common Preserva-
 tion of our Church, Liberties and Constitution, against a powerful
 Adversary: If to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking,
 to give a happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, to crown
 our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as they
 are just and honourable: And, that in order to this, we are all
 bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our
 own Interest, unanimously and heartily to assist and support Her
 under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers and Estates,
 Lives and Fortunes can serve her: If to persuade her Subjects, that
 the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies should have
 that just Effect upon us, to unite as much in our Resolutions and Af-
 fections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and
 Troubles: If to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitu-
 tion of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of
 our Parliament and Ministry; in the Strength and Number of our
 Armies, Fleets and Confederates; in the Care and watchful Vi-
 gilance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct, of our General;
 and above all in the Piety and Prudence of our most Gracious
 Queen; If to affirm, that She daily gives fresh Instances of her
 Wisdom, in the happy Administration of her Government; and
 in nothing more shews her Policy and distinguishing Judgment, than
 in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to
 their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Ser-
 vice and true Interest; and whom nothing could bribe or betray in-
 to a Party, wherein it might any ways seem to be endanger'd: If,
 with the most ardent Requests, to implore God's Providence, which
 thro' so many Dangers and Difficulties, has raised up and preserved
 Her Majesty to carry on these Glorious Undertakings with Success;
 that she may be able to restore and settle the Peace of Europe in its
 just Rights and Limitations: And that as God has bestow'd a Crown
 upon Her, in this World, as a Reward of these heroick and pious
 Designs; so after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an
 higher Throne in Heaven, and dignify Her with a Glorious and
 Immortal Crown hereafter: If this, My Lords, I say, is falsely
 and maliciously to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration, both
 in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the
 Constitution: If this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Au-
 thority under Her, both in Church and State, with a general Mal-
 Administration: If this be as an Incendiary to persuade her Subjects
 to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties: If this be instil-
 ling groundless jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions, and stirring

up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and Violence against any but Her Enemies ; then, my Lords, I am Guilty of this Article of Impeachment, otherwise I am Innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty upon all Publick Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do : Of this, there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I have belong'd. One of these I beg Leave of your Lordships, particularly to mention, *Magdalen College in Oxford*, whereof I am at present an unworthy Member, and which by the known Sufferings of the whole Body, for the Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards the late Happy Revolution, as any Society in the Kingdom : To which Honourable Society, I humbly Appeal for my Character and Behaviour. I could also Appeal for the same, to a Right Reverend Lord, that now sits upon the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with Evidences of my hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have produc'd them in great Abundance from the Persons with whom I have convers'd ; from the Gentlemen, whom I have bred up ; and from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Principles had any Tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her Majesty's Subjects ; surely, some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen ; some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender ; some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot but with Pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am Guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar, at which I am to appear ; and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, My Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most Competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, My Lords, I hope, it appears, that I am not Guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd ; that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute nor Common-Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State, and that I may, with all Humility, apply to my own Case, the words of that Blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example, I hope, I shall have the Grace to follow ; ' Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Cæsar*, have I offended any thing at all.

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships, relates to my Words and Actions ; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd, in my Impeachment, to be Wicked, Seditious, and Malicious ; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Man-

ney, as I expect to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only I, but all the World, even your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me, must appear, to be a guilted or condemned; that I had no such Wicked, Seditious, or Malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more Detest and Abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce or condemn the late Happy Revolution; or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security: So far was I from intending to persuade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties and Factions; from instilling groundless Jealousies; fomenting destructive Divisions among them; or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence; that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions; to unite in one well-compacted Body; to be obedient to their Governors; and to support the present Establishment: So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am, from the bottom of my Soul, zealously and affectionately Loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her Majesty, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shewed my self to be to Her sacred Person and Government.

As to the Protestant Succession by Law Establish'd, tho' the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take Notice of it, I do no where, in those Sermons, mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any View towards it. Therefore, tho' I cannot, with my best Application, apprehend, how it comes to be said, in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it; yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity of Declaring myself, before your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose Exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have, of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Counsels at Home, and Her Arms abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*, in Length as well as Glory; but when the Inheritrix of the Blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety; when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, shall, full of Years and Honour, be gathered to Her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown, (since we are depriv'd of that Prince Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon, without a bleeding Heart; and whom God, in his Anger, took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is Establish'd in the most Illustrious House

of *Hannover*, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power; the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught, tends to weaken or undermine it; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary, an indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange, than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government; unless it be, that Non-Resistance should overturn it. So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intimations were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

These outrageous Insults upon God and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, or due Concern for the Discharge of his Holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating, with an unbecoming Bitterness, such daring *Rabscaks*, who despise the Living God, I beg leave to reply, In the Words of a Reverend Father of our Church, 'Let them consider what Moderation and Temper a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age, shall speak against Faction, Rebellion, (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty, in such Cases, to express ourselves with Warmth and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour, who, tho' Meekness itself, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the prophaning the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office; will not consider that we are the Ambassadors of Christ; that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority; and that our Authority is derived from those, to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, *He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* Whatever Expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to Exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be a happy Speaker indeed, whose Words are altogether unexceptionable) yet, I humbly hope, the above-mentioned Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions shall not be deemed High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I desire, it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal Interests to serve, by the Doctrines I advanced; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal Subject.

My

My Lords, These things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of your Lordships; I hope, that what I have already suffer'd as a supposed Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his Holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as, tho' his Innocence should, at last, be clear'd by your Lordships upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name, which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those whose whole Capacity of doing Good in the World, principally depends upon it. My Lords, As the Matter of my Charge was highly Criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation, or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd; so that after I had provided as particular an Answer, as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd, in their Replication, to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that honourable House, I might add, that of a long and a close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body, so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the Weight of them; and among these, I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been so long time debarr'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For, ever since I have had my Liberty, by the Favour of your Lordships admitting me to Bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance, as my necessary Attendance on your Lordships, from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.

All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the Publick Manner, the Length and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means, *I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World*: I have stood in this Place, Day after Day, to hear my self accus'd of the *Blackest Crimes*, and openly revil'd: I have been represented as a *Papist in Disguise*, as a *Rebel*, as an *Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government*, and a *Favourer of the Pretender*, tho' I have abjur'd him; that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains. I have been call'd an *Insignificant Tool of a Party* on the one hand, and a *most dangerous Incendiary* on the other; nay, an *Angel*, that is, a *Devil detach'd from the Infernal Regions*. All these things, I say, being consider'd, (and your Lordships, I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that whatever be your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho' I should have the Happiness to be by your Lordships, at last, acquitted.

Yet

Yet I cannot reflect, without Comfort, (the greatest of Comforts, next to that of a good Cause and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this Day before the most Illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the Nobility of Great Britain, whose Princely Extraction and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles and splendid Fortunes, whole Hereditary Candor and Generosity, inherent in Noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth and Education of Peers; in a word, whose Solid Judgment and Exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune to labour under such hard Circumstances as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest Impartiality, Equity and Honor.

And when I consider, that I now stand, and am judg'd for some of the Doctrines of the Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers; and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred *Depositem* of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this Day call'd in Question; That it is one of those Eternal Truths, which You are solemnly commanded to Teach, and earnestly Contend for: When I consider, that 'tis that, our Blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd in the midst of Flames, so many Learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badge and Glory of our Reformation: Nay, when I consider, that 'tis what your Selves have already supported with incontestable Reason and Authority; it is no small Satisfaction to me, to think, that as your Lordships are my Judges, so you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our Excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of, as its peculiar Character; by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines, even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent, Church in the World. I think, I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers; *Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great*; Saying none other things than those which the Prophets and *Moses*, I may add, Christ and his Apostles, did say.

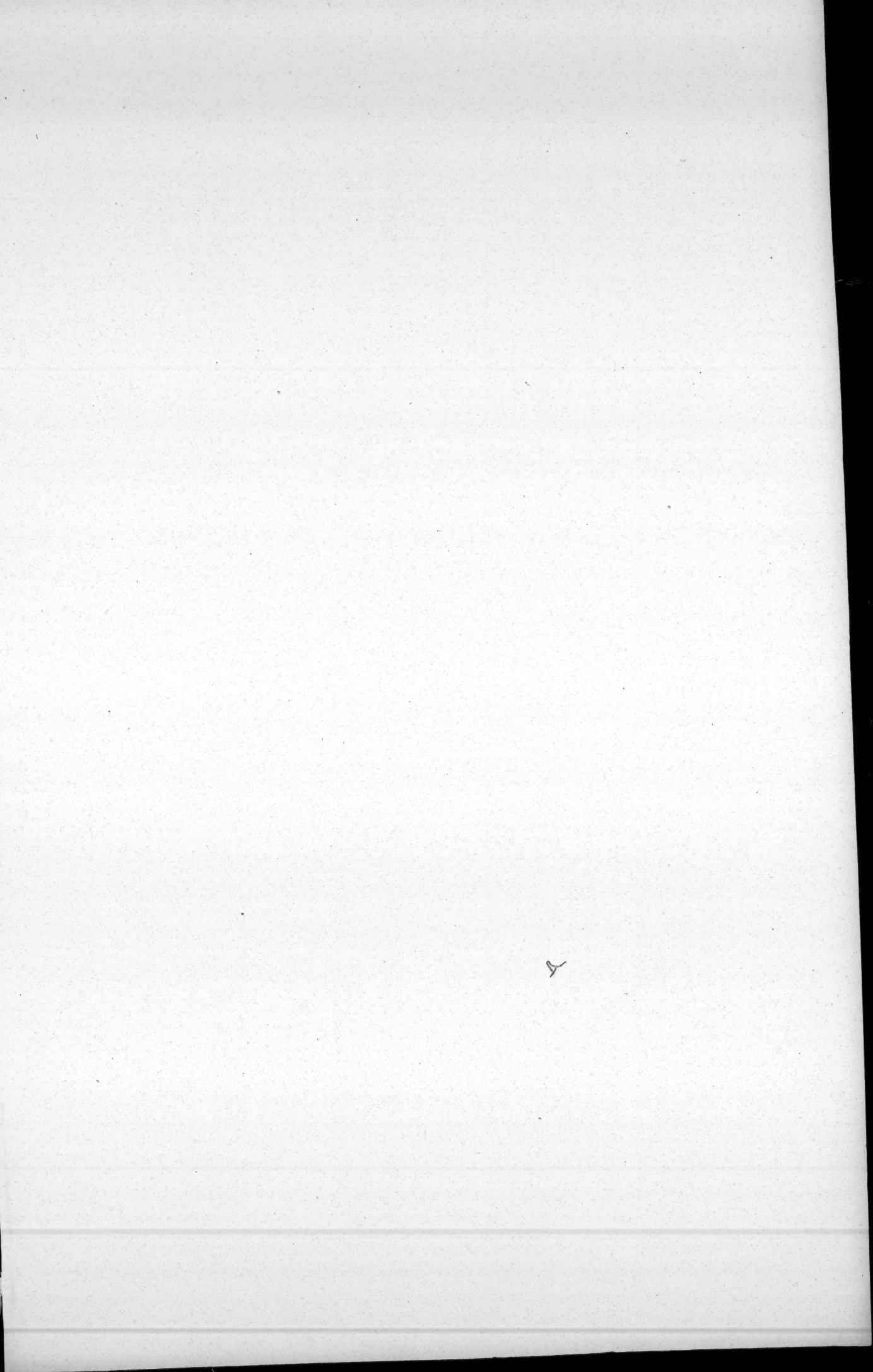
For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expressions, yet as I insist upon my Innocence, with Respect to all the High Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon all the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrines of our most Excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged both by Subscription and Oath to Acknowledge and Defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World, for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not; to exhort, rebuke,

In Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other! If this be our Case, who, indeed, is sufficient for these things? And, how truly may we of the Ministry, above all Men living, apply to our selves, these Words of the Apostle; if in this Else only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these Licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-denial, Taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions.

For my own Part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance or Ruin of any Moment to the World; or if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I, by that, do Service to my Queen, my Church, or my Country; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus; but may God so direct your Lordships, that thro' me a Wound may not be given, to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchased with his own Blood.

And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to your Lordships Judgment, be it what it will. One thing, I am sure it can never take from me; the Power of wishing and praying (and whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned I shall always pray) for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges and for the Commons my Accusers; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men, from all false Doctrine, Heresie and Schism, from Hardness of Heart, from Contempt of his Word and Commandment, from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

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